

642 the Jaf confederacy of nomadic as well as sedentary tirsas. The following discussion will, for the sake of simplicity, relate only to the Hamawands, an independent
[12] tira of population ca. 1000-1500, which became sedentary some two or three generations ago.

613 The lineage organization has two main areas of relevance: land ownership, and defence and offence in war. Property rights to land and grazing area are held
[62] jointly by the tira as a whole; exclusive usufruct rights are vested in its localized segments, inhabiting compact villages with a population of 50 to 200 individuals. Within the village territory, men have traditional rights to certain fields. These
• [623] rights are passed on from father to son, but are not inalienable, and land is freely redistributed by the village council when the need arises. If a segment becomes extinct, its territory passes as normal inheritance to the other segments of the lineage, according to the degrees of kinship (on any one level of segmentation, "brothers" exclude "cousins" from inheritance).

[578] Further, until successful pacification in 1932, the lineage was, and still is potentially, also a military unit, mobilized in toto if a segment were attacked from without, and divided in opposition according to the segmentary charter when conflicts arose within the group. Conflicts relating to territorial rights were rife, both
72] within, where they led to fission, and without, where they led to conquest or loss of territory.

571 There is a clear contrast between the Kurdish and most African systems in the readiness with which the problems of fission and fusion are solved. A man's rights
613 to land are limited to the territory of the village segment of his lineage; a stranger
621 or a person from another lineage segment is accepted into a village only as hired farm help ("asapani") of degraded status. The territorial exclusiveness of lineage segments thus tends to be maintained to high degree, and there are no kinship mechanisms for developing "attached" lineages with local territorial and political rights.⁷ The segmentary nature of the maximal lineage expresses itself directly in geographical distribution, and the respective territories of major and minor segments, inhabited nearly exclusively by them, down to the village level, can be plotted on a map or clearly seen where one has a view of the valley bottom. The main integrative factors relevant to segments larger than the village seem to be territorial contiguity, knowledge of common descent, and the importance of the tira as a defensive unit—this last probably being of most weight. No religious or ritual

690 ⁷ A permanent relationship may occasionally be established between a conquering lineage group and a conquered, non-tribal peasant population, who retain certain rights as surfs of the ruling lineage. In these cases, a caste barrier is set up, preventing intermarriage between the two groups. This relationship, observed on the northern margin of Hamawand territory, does not seem to be very stable.

614 list, the Benadjut are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Shaikh 'Smail *tira*. The Shatri group of *tiras*, on the other hand, are all «sons of one father», and no one of the *tiras* takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as «brothers», they have the right of inheritance to each others' pastures and campsites, in the case of one of the *tiras* dying out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: In the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shatri *tiras* meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, this council meets in the tent of a rich follower, *not* in the tent of any one *Raiz*. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

621 **KHEL.** Though the *tira* holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate tentcamps, each called a *kbel*. The *kbel* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *kbel* without being members of the *Jaf ashiret*, or economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *kbel* membership. The *kbel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *kbel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

592 **HOUSEHOLDS.** Each *kbel* in turn is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent. The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relative, very rarely outside the *tira*. Brideprice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.